TWO
SPEECHES
ſpoken in the houſe of the LORDS,

By the Lord Viſcount *Newarke.*

The firſt concerning the right of Biſhops to ſit in Parliament, *MAY* 21. 1641.

The ſecond about the lawfulnes and conveniencie of their intermedling in Temporall affaires, *May* the 24th following.

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TWO

Broken in the hour

The first Speech

Concerning the right of *Bishops* to sit in Parliament, *May* 21. 1641.

My Lords.

I Shall take the boldnesse to speake a word or two upon this subject, first as it is in it selfe, then as it is in the consequence: For the former, I think hee is a great stranger in Antiquity, that is not well acquainted with that of their sitting here, they have done thus, and in this manner, almost since the conquest, and by the same power and the same right the other Peeres did, and your Lordships now doe, and to be put from this their due, so much their due, by so many hundred yeeres strengthned and confirmed,

and that without any offence, nay, pretence of any, ſeemes to mee to bee very ſevere; if it be *jus*, I dare boldly ſay it is *ſummum*. That this hinders their Eccleſiaſticall vocation, an argument I heare much of, hath in my apprehenſion more of ſhadow then ſubſtance in it: if this be a reaſon, ſure I am it might have been one ſix hundred yeers ago.

A Biſhop, my Lords, is not ſo circumſcribed within the circumference of his Dioceſſe, that his ſometimes abſence can bee termed, no not in the moſt ſtrict ſenſe, a neglect or hinderance of his duty, no more then that of a Lievtenant from his County, they both have their ſubordinate Miniſters, upon which their influences fall, though the diſtance bee remote.

Beſides, my Lords, the leſſer muſt yield to the greater good; to make wholſome and good Lawes for the happy and well regulating of Church and Common wealth, is certainly more advantagious to both, then the want of the perſonall execution of their office, and that but once in three yeeres, and then peradventure but a month or two, can be prejudicall to either. I will goe no further to prove this, which ſo long experience hath done ſo fully, ſo demonſtratively.

And now my Lords, by your Lordſhips good leave, I ſhall ſpeake to the conſequence as it reflects both on your Lordſhips, and my Lords the Biſhops. Dangers and inconveniences are ever beſt prevented *è longinquo*; this preſident comes neere to your Lordſhips, the bill indeed hath a direct aſpect only upon them, but an oblique one upon your Lordſhips, and ſuch a one, that *mutato nomine de vobis*

bis. Pretences are never wantiug, nay, ſometimes the greateſt evills appeare in the moſt faire and ſpecious outſides, witneſſe the Shipmony, the moſt abominable, the moſt illegall thing that ever was, and yet this was painted over with colour of the *Law*; what Bench is ſecure, if to alleage bee to convince, and which of your Lordſhips can ſay that hee ſhall continue a member of this houſe, when at one blow ſix and twenty are cut off? It then behoves the Neighbour to looke about him *cum proximus ardet Vcalegon.*

And for the Biſhops, my Lords, in what condition will you leave them? The Houſe of Commons repreſents the meaneſt perſon, ſo did the Maſter his Slave, but they have none to doe ſo much for them, and what juſtice can tie them to the obſervation of thoſe Laws, to whoſe conſtitution they give no conſent; the wiſdome of former times gave proxies unto this Houſe meerely upon this ground, that every one might have a hand in the making of that, which he had an Obligation to obey: This Houſe could not repreſent, therefore proxies in room of perſons were moſt juſtly allowed.

And now my Lords, before I conclude, beſeech your Lordſhips to caſt your eyes upon the Church, which I know is moſt deare and tender to your Lordſhips, you will ſee her ſuffer in her moſt principall members, and deprived of that honour which here and throughout all the Chriſtian World ever ſince Chriſtianity ſhe conſtantly hath enjoyed; for what Nation or Kingdome is there in whoſe great and publique aſſemblies, and that from her beginning, ſhee had not ſome of hers, if I may not ſay as eſſentiall, I am ſure I may ſay as integrall

tegrall parts thereof, and truly my Lords, Chriſtianitie cannot alone boaſt of this, or challeng it onely as hers, even Heatheniſme claimes an equall ſhare.

I never read of any of them, Civill or Barbarous, that gave not thus much to their Religion, ſo that it ſeemes to me to have no other originall, to flow from no other ſpring, than nature it ſelfe.

But I have done, and will trouble your Lordſhips no longer, how it may ſtand with the honour and juſtice of this houſe to paſſe this Bill, I moſt humbly ſubmit unto your Lordſhips, the moſt proper and only Judges of them both.

THE

THE SECOND SPEECH
About the lawfulneſſe and conveniencie of their intermedling in Temporall Affaires.

My Lords.

I Shall not ſpeake to the preamble of the Bill that Biſhops and Clergy men ought not to intermeddle in temporall affaires. For, truly, My Lords, I cannot bring it under any reſpect to bee ſpoken of. *Ought* is a word of relation, and muſt either refer to Humane or divine Law: to prove the lawfulneſſe of their intermedling by the former, would bee to no more purpoſe, then to labour to convince that by reaſon, which is evident to ſenſe. It is by all acknowledged. The unlawfulneſſe by the later, the Bill by no means admits of, for, it excepts Vniverſities and ſuch perſons as ſhall have honour deſcend upon them. And your Lordſhips know, that circumſtance and chance alter not the nature and eſſence of a thing, nor can except any particular from an univerſall propoſition by God himſelfe delivered. I will therefore take theſe two as granted, firſt that they ought by our Law to intermedle in Temporall affaires, ſecondly, that from doing ſo they are not inhibited by the Law of God, it leaves it at leaſt as a thing indifferent. And now my Lords, to apply my ſelfe to the buſineſſe of

of the day I ſhall conſider the conveniencie and that in the ſeverall habitudes thereof, but, very briefely; firſt in that which it hath to them meerely as men, *qua tales*, then as parts of the Commonweale, Thirdly, from the beſt manner of conſtituting Laws, and laſtly, from the practice of all times both Chriſtian and Heathen.

Homo ſum nihil humanum à me alienum puto, was indeed the ſaying of the Comedian, but it might well have becom'd the mouth of the greateſt Philoſopher. We alow to ſenſe, all the works and operations of ſenſe, and ſhall wee reſtrain reaſon? Muſt onely man bee hindred from his proper actions? They are moſt fit to doe reaſonable things that are moſt reaſonable. For, Science commonly is accompanied with conſcience; ſo is not ignorance: they ſeldome or never meete. And why ſhould wee take that capacity from them, which God and nature have ſo liberally beſtowed?

My Lords, the politike body of the Commonwealth is analogicall to the body naturall: every member in that contributes ſomething to the preſervation of the whole, the ſuperfluity or defect which hinders the performance of that duty, your Lordſhips know what the Philoſopher calls, ἁμαρτίαν τῆς φύσεως, Natures ſinne. And truly my Lords, to bee part of the other body, and doe nothing beneficiall thereunto, cannot fall under a milder terme. The Common-wealth ſubſiſts by lawes and their execution: and they that have neither head in the making, nor hand in the executing of them, confer not any thing to the being or well being

being thereof. And can ſuch be called members unleſs moſt unprofitable ones? only *fruges conſumere nati.*

Me thinks it ſprings from nature it ſelfe, or the very depths of juſtice, that none ſhould be tyed by other lawes then himſelfe makes, for, what more naturall or juſt, then to be bound onely by his own conſent? to be ruled by an others will is meerly tyrannicall. Nature there ſuffers violence, and man degenerates into beaſt. The moſt flouriſhing Eſtates were ever governed by Laws of an univerſall conſtitution; witneſſe this our Kingdom, witneſſe *Senatus Populuſq; Romanus*, the moſt glorious Common-wealth that ever was, & thoſe many others in *Greece* & elſwhere of eternall memory. 3.

Some things, my Lords, are ſo evident in themſelves that they are difficult in their proofs. Amongſt them I reckon this conveniencie I have ſpoken of: I will therefore uſe but aword or two more in this way. The long experience that al Chriſtendom hath had hereof for theſe 1300 yeers, is certainly, *argumentum ad hominem*. Nay my Lords I will goe further (for the ſame reaſon runs through all Religions) never was there any Nation that imployed not their religious men in the greateſt affairs. But to come to the buſines that now lies before your Lordſhips. Biſhops have voted heere ever ſince Parliaments began, and long before were imployed in the publique. The good they have done your Lordſhips all well know, and at this day enjoy: for this I hope ye will not put them out, nor for the evill they may do, which yet your Lordſhips doe not know, and I am confident never ſhall ſuffer. A poſition ought not to be deſtroyed by a ſuppoſition, *& à poſſe ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.* My Lords I have done with proving of this poſitively, I ſhall now by your good favours do it negatively in 4.

anſwering ſome inconveniences that may ſeem to ariſe.

*Obj.*1. For the Text, No man that wars intangles himſelfe with the affairs of this life, which is the full ſenſe of the word both in Greek and Latine, it makes not at all againſt them, except to intermeddle and intangle bee termes equivalent. Beſides my Lords, though this was directed to a Church-man, yet it is of a generall nature and reaches to all, Clergy and Laity, as the moſt learned and beſt expoſitors unanimouſly doe agree. To end this, *Argumentum ſymbolicum non eſt argumẽtativum.*

*Obj.*2. It may be ſaid that it is inconſiſtent with a ſpirituall vocation; Truly my Lords, *Grace and nature* are in ſome reſpects incompoſſible, but in ſome others moſt harmoniouſly agree, it perfects nature, & raiſes it to a heighth above the common altitude, and makes it moſt fit for thoſe great works of God himſelfe, to make lawes, to doe Juſtice. There is then no inconſiſtency betwene themſelves, it muſt ariſe out of Scripture, I am confident it doth not formally out of any place there, nor did I ever meet with any learned writer of theſe or other times that ſo expounded any Text.

*Obj.*3. But though in ſtrict termes this be not inconſiſtent, yet it may peradventure hinder the duty of their other calling. My Lords, there is not any that ſits heere, more for preaching then I am I know it is the ordinary means to ſalvation, yet, I likewiſe know, there is not that full neceſſity of it as was in the primitive times. God defend that 1600. yeers acquaintance ſhould make the Goſpell of Chriſt no better known unto us. Neither, my Lords, doth their office meerely & wholly conſiſt in preaching, but partly in that, partly in praying and adminiſtring the bleſſed Sacraments, in a godly and exemplary life, in wholſome admonitions, in

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exhortations to vertue, dehortations from vice, and partly in easing the burthned conscience. These my Lords compleate the office of a Churchman. Nor are they altogether tyed to time or place, though I confesse they are most properly exercised within their own verg, except upon good occasion, nor then the omission of some can be termed the breach of them all. I must add one more, an essentiall one, the very forme of Episcopacy that distinguisheth it from the inferiour Ministery, the orderly and good government of the Church, and how many of these, I am sure, not the last, my Lords, is interrupted by their sitting here, once in 3 yeers, and then peradventure but a very short time: and can there be a greater occasion than the common good of the Church and State? I wil tell your Lordships what the great and good Emperour *Constantine* did, in his expedition against the *Persians*, he had his Bishops with him whom he consulted about his military affairs, as *Eusebius* has it in his life, *lib.4.c.56.*

Reward and punishment are the great negotiators in all worldly businesses; these may be said to make the Bishops swim against the streame of their consciences, and may not the same be said of the Laity? Have these no operations, but onely upon them? Has the King neither frowne, honour, nor offices, but onely for Bishops? Is there nothing that answers their translations? Indeed my Lords, I must needs say, that in charity it is a supposition not to bee supposed; no nor in reason, that they will go against the light of their understanding. The holinesse of their calling, their Knowledge, their freedome from passions and affections to which youth is very obnoxious, their vicinity to the gates of death, which, though not shut to any, yet alwayes *Obj.4.*

stand

ſtand wide open to old age: theſe, my Lords, will ſurely make them ſteere aright.

Obj.5.

But of matter of fact there is no diſputation, ſome of them have done ill, *Crimine ab uno diſce omnes*, is a poeticall not a logicall argument. Some of the Judges have done ſo, ſome of the Magiſtrates, and Officers; and ſhall there be therefore neither Judge, Magiſtrate, nor Officer more? A perſonall crime goes not beyond the perſon that commits it, nor can an others fault be mine offence. If they have contracted any filth or corruption through their owne or the vice of the times, cleanſe and purge them throughly: But ſtill remember the great difference between reformation and extirpation. And bee pleaſed to thinke of your Trienniall Bill which will ſave you this labour for the time to come; feare of puniſhment will keepe them in order, if they ſhould not themſelves through the love of vertue. I have now my Lords, according to my poore ability, both ſhewed the conveniences, and anſwered thoſe inconveniences that ſeeme to make againſt them. I ſhould now propoſe thoſe that make for them. As their falling into a condition worſe then ſlaves, not repreſented by any, and then the dangers and inconveniences that may happen to your Lordſhips; but I have done this heretofore and will not offer your Lordſhips, *Cramben bis coctam*.

FINIS.